

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Director of Central Intelligence

--EYES ONLY--

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Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Deputy Director for Intelligence

FROM:

Chief, Arms Control Intelligence Staff

SUBJECT:

Verification (U)

- 1. This "fast-track" memorandum is FYI unless, upon reading the attached, you want to issue guidance or change some of the text. (U)
- 2. Attached at Tab 'C' is a copy of the latest version of the draft joint D/ACDA-DCI response to the President on verification, as required by NSDD 160 (copy at Tab 'D'). This version is about the twentieth in the series. There are a few obvious typing errors, which we will correct on Monday automatically. (S/NF/WN)
- 3. I believe this text is quite good and, moreover, it is the best we (i.e., ACDA and US intelligence) can do at the moment. This material has been reviewed repeatedly throughout US intelligence, including ICS, and all of our important changes have been accepted. (U)
- 4. This paper tracks closely in its major points to your 21 December letter to the President on verification (copy attached at Tab 'E' as background), but the focus in this paper is on the basic ideas and process. This paper has in it what I believe to be our most important and most fundamental points:
  - $\overline{\phantom{a}}$  -- Puts verification in the policy process early.
    - -- Treatsverification consistently from subject-to-subject.
    - -- Integrates military significance/risk into verification.
    - -- Integrates safeguards, including intelligence enhancements, into verification.
    - -- Put someone in charge of the verification work so that the obvious, long-standing stalemates, obstructionism, and (in my view) misuse of verification at the approximately Assistant Secretary-level can get resolved.

In addition, I have argued consistently that changes in structure and/or process will not, by themselves, lead to anything good; leadership and follow-through are the critical pieces. (S/NF)

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- 5. With respect to the views of other agencies, my perceptions from the interagency meetings are:
  - -- JCS appears happy, at least at my level, and willing to do the work on military significance/risk.
  - -- State is fairly unhappy, because State wants all verification work to be done by the existing interagency groups. These groups are cochaired by State and OSD. The key problem with this approach is that it is exactly this process which has led to the situation we are in now.
  - -- OSD is very unhappy, for a variety of reasons; some of which have been explained and some of which have not been explained well at all. One OSD point I do understand is the idea that, for example, OSD wants verification assessments to be conducted by OSD and ACDA (Richard Perle and Dr. Eimer).

If you want to hear more about the State or OSD approaches, please call and let me know. (S/NF/WN)

- 6. One of the potentially important political aspects of this paper is the fact that you and D/ACDA are calling for a new Chairman of the Verification Committee and thereby criticizing Bud McFarlane. I leave to you the final judgment of whether—and how—to do this, but it seems appropriate to me to do so in this paper because Mr. McFarlane is the Chairman of the Verifcation Committee and he does not have much (if any) interest or time to be Chairman. In any case, the "Chairman" ought to be primarily an organizer and implementer—not a final judge on verification. (S/NF/WN)
- 7. In a related and important vein, I have privately told the NSC Staff (S. Kraemer) the following points:
  - -- I have not sought the chairmanship of anything; for myself, for CIA, or for the DCI.
  - -- Major changes in structure are likely not going to work by themselves and are not cost-free (substantively, procedurally, or politically).
  - -- The NSC Staff must watch verification as it does other issues; the watchdog must be discreet and cleared for many things; a joint watch by Kraemer-deGraffenreid is okay but other combinations of people may not be okay. (S/NF/WN)
- 8. As you requested, I will set up a meeting Monday morning between the four of us to discuss this paper. Once that meeting has occurred and your desires known, I intend to ask ACDA to print the document in final form Monday afternoon. D/ACDA will sign it, and I will bring it, to you for signature late Monday. (U)

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Attachments: As stated